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ered of her child. She kills and buries it in the ground or in the snow. If the girl points out the father of her child, her father or brothers endeavor to pommel him. In olden times cohabitation out of wedlock with a girl sometimes led to wars between the families to which the young people belonged. After reaching maturity, the girl sleeps in her combination-suit, the make[1] of which prevents unexpected violence. When strangers sleep in the house over night, girls do not undress at all, and sleep together in one bed. As we shall see later on, the bride also resists the bridegroom at the beginning of their married life, symbolizing her innocence and inaccessibility.

The girl is as inaccessible to the bridegroom while he serves for her as to a stranger. Intercourse of a bride with her bridegroom before the termination of his service is deemed a sin. Oftentimes, during the period of a young man's service, the girl goes away from her parental home to live with her relatives. In one myth it is told[2] that the sister of Cloud-Man was let down to earth pending her bridegroom's service.

Different rules for a girl's conduct are found among the tribes nearest to the Koryak. Maidenly chastity is valued very little among the Chukchee, says Bogoras.[3] Krasheninnikoff says of the ancient Kamchadal, "Though fond of women, this tribe is not so jealous as the Koryak. In marriages the signs of virginity are not considered, and some claim that the young men find fault with their mothers-in-law when they discover their wives to be virgin, but this I cannot assert to be authentic."[4] In my work on the Yukaghir I shall speak more fully of their custom of placing guests on the beds of the girls.

Dittmar states that a Koryak girl who had intercourse with a man was severely punished, and that her own father shot her;[5] but Krasheninnikoff asserts, in a passage which I shall touch upon again farther on, that the Maritime Koryak offered their wives and daughters to their guests.[6] In another passage[7] he says that among the Reindeer Koryak the bridegroom sleeps with his bride during the period of service. I think that these data were recorded by Krasheninnikoff on the authority of the Cossacks, who might have confused the Chukchee customs with those of the Koryak, or simply invented this statement. This seems the more probable, since not even the Chukchee offer their daughters to their guests.

In the myths of the Koryak we do not find a single allusion to such an order of things. On the contrary, we find episodes of an opposite character. The girls are generally kept in a secret place,[8] or they are hidden during

[1] See p. 589.
[2] See Part I, p. 131.
[3] See Bogoras, Brief Report on the Investigations among the Chukchee of the Kolyma District, p. 36.
[4] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 169.
[5] See Dittmar, Die Korjaken, p. 32.
[6] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 202.
[7] Ibid., II, p. 22.
[8] See Part I, pp. 125, 176, 291, 302.

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the present Chukchee irka'la'ul, Koryak "transformed men" contracted marriage with men, or, when there was another real wife, would be kept as concubines, and lived with the so-called husband in improper intimacy. This, of course, cannot be treated as a normal institution of marriage. Such cases were few in number. Bogoras states that among three thousand Kolyma Chukchee he registered five cases of men who were believed to be transformed into women; but of these, only two were "married" to other men.[1] I think abnormal sexual relations have developed under the influence of the ideas concerning shamanistic power, which the "metamorphosed" men obtain from the spirits at whose bidding and with whose help the change of sex is accomplished. These beliefs have found fertile soil in individuals of abnormal physical and psychical development. With the decadence of shamanism among the Koryak, and the Russianization of the Kamchadal, these practices have disappeared in both tribes.

POLYANDRY. — I had occasion to observe among the Reindeer Chukchee of the Kolyma tundra that they would exchange wives for the night, or that the wife would be placed at the disposal of the transient guest, while the husband would go off to his herd. Mr. Bogoras, who has studied this question more closely, considers this wife-exchange among the Chukchee as a form of group-marriage. The right of two men to each other's wife is stipulated by the mutual agreement of the husbands.[2] This marriage-union is contracted mainly among kinsmen (excepting brothers), such as cousins and second-cousins. A union like this may be contracted among unrelated men as well. Not infrequently this contract is entered into by a married man and a bachelor, who thus pledges his future wife to his friend. Each Chukchee may contract such a union with several persons, who are called "friends in wives." The result of such a union is a polygynic-polyandric group-marriage. The families participating in such a marriage-union retain, nevertheless, their own economic independence, and the children are considered as belonging to the head of the family in which they are born.

In Steller's[3] description of Kamchatka we find a passage in which it is stated that friends sometimes agree to exchange wives. It is to be regretted that Steller gives no detailed information concerning the character of such agreements.

Krasheninnikoff says that the Reindeer Koryak are jealous beyond measure, and may kill their wives on the mere suspicion of faithlessness.[4] On the other hand, he compares the Maritime Koryak with the Chukchee, and alleges that among them the host's wives and daughters are given over to

[1] See Bogoras, Brief Report, p. 31.
[2] For the same marriage-customs among the western Eskimo, see Nelson, p. 292.
[3] See Steller, p. 347.
[4] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 204.

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the guests, and that the host feels deeply offended should the guest not accept them.[1]

I think that his statement is based on a misunderstanding, or on reports of Cossacks who confounded the Maritime Koryak and the Chukchee. I should find difficulty in deciding who is more jealous, the Maritime or the Reindeer Koryak. If exchange of wives existed among the Koryak in former times, as it did among the Kamchadal, Chukchee, and the northwest Americans, like the Aleut, Eskimo, and Athapascan[2] tribes, I have found no traces of such a custom. True, in one myth two kalat have one wife,[3] but such actions, which men deem evil, are always attributed to evil spirits. In another myth[4] Yiñea-ñeut strikes her husband's younger brother with a cutting-board because he wooed her in his brothers absence. The Koryak themselves deny ever having had the custom of exchanging wives. They assert that a married woman had to go in a dirty dress and with unwashed face, that she might not attract the attention of strange men. Once I asked the elder of the Taigonos Reindeer Koryak, who has three wives, what he thought of the Chukchee custom of exchanging wives. He replied that he would gladly avail himself of the Chukchee hospitality in this regard, but would never consent to reciprocity in the matter. Krasheninnikoff says[5] that the Reindeer Koryak have two and three wives each, and keep them in different places, giving them separate herds and separate herdsmen, as do the reindeer-breeding Chukchee. The above-mentioned elder asserted that neither at present nor in earlier times did any such custom prevail. He says that he would not leave his wife alone with the herd for other men to come and avail themselves of her. If there are two or more wives, they always live in one tent with the husband, as they live in the same house, among the Maritime Koryak. Among the Reindeer Koryak, the senior wife sometimes has a separate sleeping-tent; for instance, that of the Taigonos elder. On the northern side of the Palpal Ridge, where the Reindeer Koryak come into contact with the Reindeer Chukchee, with whom they enter into marriage-relations, the Chukchee marriage-customs may have been adopted to some extent by the Koryak; but, on the other hand, the Chukchee, who roam at present among the Koryak of the Parapol Dol, and whom I had occasion to see, exchange their wives with neither relatives nor neighbors, having adopted the Koryak views on this subject.

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Of course, even among the Koryak, adultery is met with, though less frequently than among civilized peoples, but never with connivance of the husband. In former times, a wife's faithlessness would often lead to bloody retribution. Nowadays the husband casts out or thrashes the faithless wife without mercy, but he does not touch her lover. I know of one case in

[1] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 202. [2] A. G. Morice, The Canadian Dénés (Annual Archæological Report, Toronto, 1905, p. 196). [3] See Part I, p. 134. [4] Ibid., I, p. 248. [5] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 221.

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which the husband shut his eyes to his wife's liaison with their herdsman; but the husband was a sickly man, and, besides, the herd belonged to his wife. I learned of another curious case on the Taigonos Peninsula. A man, being informed that his wife was visited by his neighbor while he himself was absent, said to the offender, "If you like my wife, don't visit her secretly, but take her altogether, only give me your daughter in exchange." The neighbor complied with so wise a proposal, and they exchanged the women; the neighbor, as luck would have it, having a grown-up daughter.

TREATMENT OF CHILDREN. — The birth of a child is a joyous event, and marked by a feast, to which guests are invited from other houses, or, among the Reindeer Koryak, from other camps. This festivity is called Añanavis-xatin ("woman's feast"). Among the Maritime Koryak, all women and girls of the village are invited in. Men are not admitted at all; even the master of the house leaves his home. The main dish consists of gruel or pudding made of flour, blood, meat, and fat. This pudding is called ta'knañoika ("bearing-blessing"), symbolizing the future welfare of the child. The Reindeer Koryak, on the occasion of the birth of a child, kill one or more reindeer, and invite men and women to the feast; but the women eat apart from the men, in the sleeping-tent of the young mother, while the house-master entertains the men in the outer tent. The Reindeer Koryak make the same kind of pudding as the Maritime Koryak, and call it by the same name.

I have already spoken[1] of the taboos to which the young mother is subjected, of the care taken to guard the child against evil spirits, and of the divination ceremony while giving a name to the new-born. According to the statements of Koryak women, confinement is easy. In each settlement there is an experienced woman who acts as a midwife. The navel-string is cut with an ordinary iron knife. This knife is not used again until the child is able to walk. The new-born child is rubbed with moss, and immediately placed in a combination-suit,[2] which takes the place of a cradle. The child is rocked by the mother in her arms, or placed in bed by her own side. On the flap[3] between the child's legs moss is laid, which is frequently changed. The child is nursed up to the age of two or three years, unless a second pregnancy of the mother prevents her from doing so. At a very early age the child is given pieces of fat of reindeer or seal to suck. I was told that, if the mother dies during or soon after confinement, the child is killed and cremated with the mother, as artificial feeding is impossible with the Koryak's means of existence.

The Koryak are very fond of children. They take good care of them and fondle them. Children are beaten very rarely, and yet they are meek and obedient. I have often marvelled at the authority exercised by the elders over the children. I related the case[4] of a girl of about nine who consented

[1] See Part I, pp. 100, 101. [2] See p. 601. [3] See p. 602. [4] See p. 591.

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from the Eaſtern Ocean weſt to the head of the rivers *Penſchina* and *Omolona*, north to the *Anadir*, and ſouth to the rivers *Leſnaya* and *Karaga*. Sometimes they come even over theſe bounds, approaching very near to *Kamtſchatka*; but this indeed happens very ſeldom, and only when they are afraid of the *Tchukotſkoi*, who are their moſt dangerous neighbours. The people that they border upon are the *Kamtſchadales*, the *Tchukotſkoi*, *Ukageri*, and the *Tunguſi* or *Lamuti*.

The *Tcukotſkoi* ſhould be accounted a race of the *Koreki*, which in truth they are; if ſo, then it may be ſaid that the country of the *Koreki* is of far greater extent, for the *Tchukotſkoi* poſſeſs northward from the river *Anadir* as far as the *Tchukotſkoi* promontory. Indeed, thoſe *Tchukotſkoi* that live north of the river *Anadir* are not ſubject to the empire of *Ruſſia*, but frequently make incurſions upon thoſe that are, both *Koreki* and *Tchukotſkoi*, killing and making them priſoners, and driving off their herds of deer. In the ſummer time they fiſh not only in the ſeas near the mouth of the *Anadir*, but even come up the river a great way, when thoſe people who are ſubjects to *Ruſſia* frequently fall into their hands.

The *Koreki* differ not only in their manners from one another, but alſo in the form of their bodies. The wandering *Koreki*, as far as I could obſerve, are of ſmall ſtature, and very lean; they have ſmall heads, and black hair, which they ſhave every day; their face is oval, their eyes ſmall, eyebrows hanging, noſe ſhort, mouth large, and their beard black and pointed, which they frequently pluck. The fixed *Koreki*, though not of a very large ſtature, are however taller than the former, and thicker and ſtronger made; eſpecially thoſe that live towards the north, who reſemble a good deal the *Kamtſchadales* and *Tchukotſkoi*.

There is beſides a very great difference in their cuſtoms and habits. The wandering *Koreki* are extremely jealous, and ſometimes kill their wives upon ſuſpicion only; but when any

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any are caught in adultery, both parties are certainly condemned to death. For this reaſon the women ſeem to take pains to make themſelves diſagreeable; for they never waſh their faces or hands, nor comb their hair, and their upper garments are dirty, ragged, and torn, the beſt being worn underneath. This they are obliged to do on account of the jealouſy of their huſbands; who ſay, that a woman has no occaſion to adorn herſelf unleſs to gain the affections of a ſtranger, for her huſband loves her without that. On the contrary, the fixed *Koreki*, and *Tchukotſkoi*, look upon it as the trueſt mark of friendſhip, when they entertain a friend, to put him to bed with their wife or daughter; and a refuſal of this civility they conſider as the greateſt affront; and are even capable of murdering a man for ſuch a contempt. This happened to ſeveral *Ruſſian* Coſſacks before they were acquainted with the cuſtoms of the people. The wives of the fixed *Koreki* endeavour to adorn themſelves as much as poſſible, painting their faces, wearing fine cloaths, and uſing various means to ſet off their perſons. In their huts they ſit quite naked, even in the company of ſtrangers.

The whole nation is rude, paſſionate, revengeful, and cruel; and the wandering *Koreki* are alſo proud and vain: they imagine that no people in the world are ſo happy as themſelves, regarding all the accounts that ſtrangers give of the advantages of other countries, as ſo many lies and fables; for, ſay they, "If you could enjoy theſe advantages at home, what made you take ſo much trouble to come to us? You ſeem to want ſeveral things which we have; we, on the contrary, are ſatisfied with what we poſſeſs, and never come to you to ſeek any thing". One great reaſon of their pride and haughtineſs may be owing to the ſettled or fixed *Koreki*, who ſhew the greateſt fear and awe of them; ſo that if one of their deer-herds ſhould come to a hut of the latter, they all run out to meet him, treat him with the greateſt